

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IOE-00 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 EUR-25 NEA-10

RSC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-04 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SPM-01 AGR-20

CPR-02 ABF-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 OIC-04

AID-20 DRC-01 SY-10 SAJ-01 /255 W

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P R 211811Z DEC 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2159

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 9440

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 5727

IO/UNP FOR STULL

UNESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA

SUBJ: THE 28TH GA, A SUMMARY ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY. US INTERESTS WERE WELL SERVED BY MOST MAJOR DECISIONS TAKEN DURING 28TH GA. US ACHIEVED PRINCIPAL GOALS IT HAD SET FOR ITSELF, INCLUDING APPROVAL OF 1974 WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, AND WORKABLE SYSTEM FOR UNEF FINANCING. US ALSO DEFEATED OPPOSITION MOVES SERIOUSLY DETRIMENTAL TO ITS INTERESTS, SPECIFICALLY THOSE ON CAMBODIA AND KOREA. FACT THAT IN LATTER TWO INSTANCES, US WAS SATISFIED TO PREVENT UNACCEPTABLE GA ACTION UNDERLINES HOW MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR US ON MANY IMPORTANT ISSUES IN UN HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY THIN, AND IN SOME CASES HAS CEASED TO EXIST. OBSERVABLE TRENDS OVER PAST THREE MONTHS IN UN INCLUDE A) GROWING COHESION OF NON-CONFIDENTIAL

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ALIGNED, MITIGATED TO SOME EXTENT BY CONCOMITANT GROWTH IN RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR; B) GROWING RELUCTANCE OF WEO'S AND LA'S TO RESIST NONALIGNED EVEN AT THEIR WORST; C) CONTINUED, PERHAPS SLIGHTLY DIMINISHED, WILLINGNESS

OF SOVIET BLOC USE UN FORUMS TO ISOLATE AND DISCREDIT US; D) EXPANDED ACTIVITY OF CHINA IN WORK OF GA; E) INCREASING EMERGENCE OF EC-9 POSITIONS FREQUENTLY AT VARIANCE WITH USG STANCE. SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EARLY APPEARANCE IN GA, US PROPOSAL FOR WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, AND MOMENTUM OF US MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY ENABLED US TO MAINTAIN INITIATIVE DURING 28TH GA. HOWEVER ON BALANCE CURRENT TRENDS IN UN ARE RUNNING AGAINST US, RAISING STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT NEXT ASSEMBLY, UNDER PRESIDENCY OF ALGERIA, MAY BE LESS SUCCESSFUL FOR US THAN THIS ONE. END SUMMARY.

2. GA ACCOMPLISHMENTS - THE 28TH GA ACCOMPLISHED ALL USG HAD REALISTICALLY HOPED, AND AVOIDED THAT WHICH IT HAD MOST SERIOUSLY APPREHENDED. PLANS FOR A WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE, PROPOSED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN HIS SEPTEMBER 24 SPEECH TO GA, WERE FIRST MET WITH INTENSE HOSTILITY BY NONALIGNED ON QUESTION OF TRADE ISSUES IN CONFERENCE. HARD NEGOTIATIONS IN ECOSOC AND FAO, HOWEVER, RESULTED IN MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TERMS, CLEARED WAY FOR GA RESOLUTION CO-SPONSORED BY MORE THAN 30 NONALIGNED CALLING FOR CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 1974 IN ROME. NONALIGNED ALSO JOINTED IN 87- NATION SPONSORSHIP OF RESOLUTION TO HOLD SPECIAL SESSION OF GA IN SEPTEMBER 1975 JUST PRIOR TO REGULAR SESSION, FOR BROAD REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, TO WHICH US ATTACHES CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE.

WORKING ON BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION DRAFT, GA SIXTH COMMITTEE PRODUCED AND GA PLENARY ADOPTED CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS, A MAJOR STEP IN EFFORT TO CONTROL INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. EVEN HERE, HOWEVER, AFRO-ASIAN OBSESSION WITH DECOLONIZATION ALMOST BROUGHT ABOUT FAILURE. DESPITE, OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF GREAT HEAT GENERATED BY MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, GA WAS ABLE TO AGREE ON METHOD TO FINANCE UNEF OPERATIONS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS, AND AT SAME TIME AVOID DEBATE OR RESOLUTIONS ON MIDDLE EAST

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WHICH WOULD HAVE COMPLICATED SITUATION. ASSEMBLY ALSO AVOIDED WHAT LOOKED TO BE BRUISING CONFRONTATION ON KOREA, AGREEING ON THOSE ASPECTS OF SITUATION WHERE CONSENSUS WAS POSSIBLE, TAKING NO ACTION ON OTHER. MOVE TO REPLACE CAMBODIAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES WITH THOSE OF SIHANOUK WAS DEFEATED, FOR THE MOMENT, BY HARI THIN MAJORITY (53-50) IN FAVOR OF DEFERMENT, AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORT TO WITHHOLD APPROVAL OF CAMBODIAN CREDENTIALS WAS DEFEATED 55-50. GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADMITTED TWO GERMANIES, AND BY SO DOING ALLOWED US SCALE OF ASSESSMENT FOR UN BUDGET TO FALL TO 25 PERCENT, WITHOUT INCREASING THAT OF ANY OTHER MEMBER.

3. NEGATIVE FACTORS -- THOSE ISSUES ON WHICH US WAS DEFEATED, OR ON WHICH ITS POSITION UNDERWENT SIGNIFICANT EROSION, WERE FOR THE MOST PART OF LESS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCE TO PRIMARY US INTERESTS. NEVERTHELESS SOME ARE SIGNIFICANT, ESPECIALLY AS TRENDS LIKELY TO GAIN MOMENTUM IN FUTURE.

(A) NONALIGNED AND SMALL NATIONS AS A WHOLE SHOWED INCREASING DISINCLINATION TO ALLOW MAJOR POWERS TO OCCUPY SPECIAL POSITION WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM. THEY HAVE SOUGHT WITH SOME SUCCESS TO INCREASE MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS UN COMMITTEES AND TO MAKE THEM MORE "REPRESENTATIVE" OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP. THIS MAY BE LAST YEAR THAT US CONTROLS CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE. INFLUENCE OF MAJOR DONORS OVER UN BUDGET THROUGH ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS WAS CHALLENGED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. SPLIT ON BUDGETARY DISCIPLINE IS WIDENING, BETWEEN LARGE CONTRIBUTORS WITH FEW VOTES AND VAST MAJORITY WHOSE ASSESSMENTS ARE MINIMAL. NO PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORTED BUDGET FOR NEXT BIENNIAL, WHICH INCREASED AN UNPRECEDENTED 24 PERCENT (IN PART INEVITABLE BECAUSE OF DEVALUATION AND INFLATION). AT OPENING PHASE OF LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE, WHICH COINCIDED WITH CLOSING DAYS OF ASSEMBLY, AUTOMATIC RIGHT OF SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT MEMBERS TO SIT ON MAJOR UN COMMITTEES, IN THIS CASE STEERING AND DRAFTING COMMITTEES, WAS SUCCESSFULLY CHALLENGED. US WON SEAT ON BOTH, ALTHOUGH ONLY AS ADDED MEMBER OF THE WEO GROUP, AND NOT ON CREDENTIALS

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COMMITTEE. ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWED AN INCREASED INTEREST IN TRADE AND MONETARY, AS OPPOSED TO STRICTLY DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES, AND GROWING SOPHISTICATION IN USE OF UN SYSTEM TO PROJECT THEIR VIEWS. AS BACKDROP TO ATTITUDE OF SMALL NATIONS TOWARD GREAT POWERS WAS THEME WHICH REURRED INSISTENTLY DURING GENERAL DEBATE: WHILE WELCOMING DETENTE, MANY NATIONS EXPRESSED CONCERN LEST GREAT POWERS DISREGARD INTERESTS OF OTHERS, MAKE MAJOR DECISIONS BY SELVES.

(B) ON MOST ISSUES RELATING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHETHER IN CONNECTION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS OR DECOLONIZATION, US FOUND ITSELF INCREASINGLY UNABLE TO INFLUENCE CONTENTS OF RESOLUTIONS AND FORCED TO VOTE WITH TINY MINORITY -- OFTEN WITH ONLY PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA -- WHILE WEO'S SHOWED LITTLE OR NO INCLINATION TO OPPOSE OR MODERATE MILITANT AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. ALTHOUGH SOME OF RESOLUTIONS MAY BE DISMISSED AS RHETORIC, AND CERTAINLY ARE UNENFORCEABLE, INTENSITY OF FEELING IS CLEAR AND US ISOLATION ON THESE ISSUES HAS A PRICE: GROWING IDENTIFICATION OF US, TRADITIONALLY SPOKESMAN FOR SELF-DETERMINATION, WITH LAST FORCES OF COLONIALISM. FURTHERMORE, INCREASED

FRUSTRATION OF RESOLUTIONS' SPONSORS (CHIEFLY BUT BY NO MEANS SOLELY AFRICAN) EVIDENCED ITSELF IN VOTES AGAINST US ON OTHER ISSUES OF LITTLE DIRECT INTEREST TO THEM BUT OF IMPORTANCE TO US, SUCH AS CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION AND, MOST MARKEDLY, IN INCREASING WILLINGNESS TO RAISE QUESTION OF PUERTO RICO.

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CPR-02 ABF-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 OIC-04

AID-20 SY-10 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /255 W

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 5727

4. THE NONALIGNED - GROWING COHESION AMONG NONALIGNED, PARTICULARLY ITS ARAB-AFRICAN CORE GROUP, HAS BEEN THEME OF SEVERAL MISSION REPORTS. NOTABLE ELEMENT IN NONALIGNED BEHAVIOR IS NOT WHAT THEY ARE SAYING BUT WHAT THEY ARE DOING ABOUT IT. THE PROGRAM OF 1973 ALGIERS NONALIGNED CONFERENCE DID NOT DIFFER GREATLY FROM THAT OF 1970 LUSAKA CONFERENCE. NOW HOWEVER, FOR FIRST TIME NONALIGNED HAVE ACHIEVED DEGREE OF COHERENCE IN PUTTING PROGRAM INTO EFFECT. THEY HAVE TENDED TO USE NEWLY REALIZED VOTING POWER RESPONSIBLY, TO THE EXTENT THAT RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR COULD BE SEEN TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS. THUS IN ECONOMIC AREA AND MIDDLE EAST, US AND NONALIGNED DID AVOID UNRESOLVABLE CONFRONTATIONS, AND OFTEN REACHED ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS. ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN RELATED ISSUES, HOWEVER, NONALIGNED SEE NO ACCEPTABLE MORE MODERATE WAY TO ADVANCE THEIR CAUSE, AND CONSEQUENTLY USED VOTING STRENGTH TO RACK UP HUGE MAJORITIES ON UNENFORCEABLE, ALTHOUGH PSYCHOLOGICALLY SATISFYING, RESOLUTIONS (E.G. GUINEA-BISSAU).

5. CHINA - MAJOR PARADOX CHINA FACES IN UN POLICY IS HOW TO REAP BENEFITS OF GREAT POWER STATUS WITHOUT APPEARING TO

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ACT LIKE ONE. IN GENERAL, CHINESE HAVE CONTINUED TO ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH MOST RADICAL ELEMENT OF NONALIGNED, AND HAVE BEEN WILLING TO ESCHEW CERTAIN GREAT POWER PREROGATIVES TO PROVE SINCERITY (E.G. CHINESE POSITION, AT THE OPENING OF THE LOS CONFERENCE, THAT PERMANENT SC MEMBERS DID NOT HAVE AUTOMATIC RIGHT TO COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS.) CHINA MAY ALSO NOT INSIST ON ITS POINT OF VIEW IF NONALIGNED PURSUE DIFFERENT COURSE. IN SUCH CASES, CHINA CONTINUED SELECTIVELY TO USE "NON-PARTICIPATION" TACTIC. BUT IT SHOWED DETERMINATION TO PLAY A KEY ROLE ON OTHER QUESTIONS, TOOK AN INITIATIVE ON CHINESE AS A WORKING UN LANGUAGE, AND IN GENERAL GREATLY EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES DURING THE GA. SOVIETS REMAIN NUMBER ONE CHINESE TARGET HERE. WHILE CAREFULLY MAINTAINING EXCELLENT PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH US AND APPARENTLY NOT GOING OUT OF ITS WAY TO SEEK CONFRONTATION, CHINA IS QUITE WILLING, AS ON ISSUE OF CAMBODIA, TO ENGAGE IN SELECTIVE ANTI-US RHETORIC.

6. NON-COMMUNIST ASIA - UNLIKE AFRICANS, LATINS, ARABS, EES AND WEOS, NO FORMAL EAST ASIAN CAUCUS OR REGIONAL GROUP HAS EVER EMERGED IN UN. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, CAMBODIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE GALVANIZED NON-COMMUNIST EAST ASIAN STATES OF INDONESIA, THAILAND, PHILIPPINES, SINGAPORE, MALAYSIA, FIJI, LAOS, NEW ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA (TO MORE LIMITED EXTENT), AND PARTICULARLY JAPAN, TO COOPERATE IN PREVENTING GA'S SEATING SIHANOUK. THIS EAST ASIAN COHESIAN SUGGESTS POSSIBILITY THAT NON-COMMUNIST EAST ASIANS, HAVING FOUND REST OF NONALIGNED UNRESPONSIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS, MAY MOVE TOWARD MORE COHERENT GROUPING IN UN, AND THAT JAPAN MAY SEEK LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIS GROUP. THERE ARE MANY OBSTACLES, HOWEVER, INCLUDING ASIAN SUSPICIONS OF THE JAPANESE. SUCH A GROUP PRESUMABLY WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF US POSITIONS ON MOST ASIAN ISSUES, BUT ALSO LIKELY TO INFLUENCE JAPAN TOWARDS NONALIGNED POSITION ON OTHER MATTERS. JAPAN'S GROWING RELUCTANCE TO OPPOSE NONALIGNED ON MIDDLE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES WAS APPARENT DURING 28TH GA.

7. SOVIET BEHAVIOR - SOVIETS AND THEIR EE ALLIES CONTINUED TO MAKE USE OF NONALIGNED'S FIXATION WITH RACIAL AND COLONIAL

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ISSUES TO ISOLATE US AND TO KEEP PRESSURE OFF THEMSELVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. SOVIETS WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD HAVE PLAYED SIMILAR GAME WITH THE MIDDLE EAST, HAD NOT EVENTS OF OCTOBER CONVINCED THEM FOR MOMENT OF DANGER OF EXACERBATING A TENSE AND DELICATE SITUATION BY STIRRING UP THE GA. EVEN WHEN US AND USSR WORK IN COOPERATION,

LATTER DOES SO WITH GREAT CAUTION TO PRESERVE ITS CREDENTIALS WITH THIRD WORLD. SOVIET PROPOSAL TO TRANSFER MONEY FROM MILITARY BUDGETS TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ROB) DEMONSTRATES EXTENT TO WHICH SOVIETS HAVE BEEN STUNG BY CHINESE ARGUMENT THAT SUPERPOWER DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BROUGHT NO BENEFIT TO THIRD WORLD.

8. WESTERN EUROPE - IN UN AS ELSEWHERE, EEC HAVE
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SUMMARIES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, TRENDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973USUNN05727
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P740135-0317
From: USUN NY
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731257/abqcelkv.tel
Line Count: 279
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 10 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10-Oct-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <24-Oct-2001 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE 28TH GA, A SUMMARY ASSESSMENT
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA
To: STATE INFO STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005